The Sun.

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The Next Three Years.

The three hundred and sixty-sixth day of Mr. CLEVELAND'S second term finds the President in the Dismal Swamp, and the Democracy in the indigo depths of discouragement, if not of despair.

That is the balance sheet of the year's business. It has been a sorry year for Democracy.

Well, it is the duty of honesty to tell the exact truth about a bad situation; but it is not the less the duty of courage to go ahead and make the best of it.

The Democracy's task for the next three years is to save the pieces. In this melancholy but indispensable undertaking Mr. CLEVELAND can contribute valuable assistance, if he is disposed so to do.

"But the sunshine aye shall light the sky,
As 'round and 'round we run;
And the truth shall ever come uppermost,
And justice shall be done."

The New Prime Minister of England.

It is settled that Mr. GLADSTONE is to be succeeded in the leadership of the Liberal party by Lord ROSEBERY. That is to say, the most experienced of statesmen gives place to one of his least tried lieutenants; the man of eighty-four to the man of forty-six; the great commoner of this century, who has repeatedly refused a peerage, to a representative of the hereditary assembly to the destruction of which the Liberals were but yesterday committed.

Two months ago, and even as lately as two weeks ago, it was not expected that the post of Premier, should it be resigned by Mr. GLADSTONE, would be taken by Lord ROSEBERY. It was assumed by the great majority of newspapers in the United Kingdom that Sir WILLIAM VERNON HARCOURT, by reason of his long public service, his dexterity in debate, and his possession of the confidence of the Radicals and the McCarthyites, would eventually become the head of the Liberal party, especially as it had signified more than once the conviction that its leader ought to be a member of the House of Commons. But, aside from his domineering ways and uncertain temper, which have made conference with him irksome to his colleagues and might make service under him intolerable, Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT is threatened with the same disability, loss of sight, which has compelled Mr. GLADSTONE to retire. In view of these considerations it has lately been believed in well-informed quarters that Sir WILLIAM would be passed over, and that the Queen would be advised to offer the Premiership to Lord SPENCER, who is understood to be much more acceptable than Lord ROSEBERY to the group of Radicals which finds a spokesman in Mr. LABOUCHERE. But during the last fortnight there has been such an outburst of opinion, either voluntary or artfully concerted, in favor of Lord ROSEBERY from every section of the Liberal party, except one, and from all ranks of society from the royal family to the representatives of labor, that the Queen, in inviting the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to form a Cabinet, may well feel that she is recognizing a kind of plebiscite, informal though it be.

Can Lord ROSEBERY keep the place to which he has been by a stroke of good fortune raised? The normal majority of the Gladstonians in the House of Commons has ranged during the last session from 38 to 42; in other words, a change of about twenty votes from one side to the other would destroy it. Now, we assume that most of the 72 McCarthyites will continue to act with the Liberal party, provided the new Prime Minister makes satisfactory promises with regard to home rule and the relief of evicted tenants. But can the McCarthyites be so firmly held together as to prevent the defection of at least a fraction of their number, in the event of Lord ROSEBERY'S refusing amnesty to Irish political prisoners; a refusal he is almost sure to make? It is certain that the 9 Parnellites, unless they can secure the desired concession on this last-named point, will vote with the Opposition, and then the decisive question would be how many of the British Radicals could Mr. LABOUCHERE draw into the cave, which he is avowedly organizing against the ROSEBERY government. Those who denounce Mr. LABOUCHERE'S insubordination and belittle his influence, assert that he cannot obtain more than ten followers; but ten, working in combination with the nine Parnellites, would be enough to upset the Cabinet. In addition to the danger resulting from even a small Radical cave, Lord ROSEBERY will have to face the risk of a mutiny among the Welsh members, unless before the next general election he tries to pass a bill for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales; a bill for which he can hardly hope to gain the unanimous support of English Liberals.

It is clear, in fact, that Lord ROSEBERY will find it no easy task to keep Mr. GLADSTONE'S mantle on his shoulders, and that he will have need of all of the tact and sagacity which he evinced in the organization and management of the London County Council, and, more lately, in the settlement of the great coal strike.

Congressman Dunphy.

Congressman EDWARD J. DUNPHY of the honored family of the Fourth ward DUNPHYS, closely connected for ever so many years with the politics of that ward, has resigned from Tammany Hall, but not from Congress, where he is serving his third term as Representative. In a letter written in Washington, Mr. DUNPHY declares that his reason for withdrawing from the historic organization to which all the DUNPHYS have belonged, is the antipathy of its leaders for the WILSON bill and his own partiality for that measure.

The-Man-Who-Did-Not-Know-It-Was-Loaded is a picturesque and familiar figure in contemporary comic literature. Mr. DUNPHY, who was one of the two New York members who voted in favor of the WILSON bill, when the other members were all dead against it, seems likely to emulate the exploits and to incur the fate of that illustrious but unfortunate individual. It is not the leaders of Tammany Hall, but the voters of his own Congress district, who desired Mr. DUNPHY to oppose the adoption of a measure which has already greatly unsettled trade, reduced wages, injured established industries, and imposed harsh and cruel conditions upon thousands of American mechanics, while at the same time violating a specific Democratic pledge, and discrediting in the eyes of thousands of voters the future pledges and promises of the great Democratic party. Up to this year the Democracy has been in an overwhelming majority in the district now represented by Mr. DUNPHY. It has been the party's Gibraltar in New York city.

Mr. DUNPHY has had three terms, and he might have had a fourth, but for his action in grossly misrepresenting the wishes of the overwhelming body of the voters in his district. Support of the WILSON bill seems fatal to the success of any Democrat in this town, and the far-seeing and sagacious leaders of the Tammany Hall organization could not fail to perceive that by his vote in favor of it Mr. DUNPHY disqualified himself for reëlection, if not for renomination. We have recently seen that able, intrepid, and martial Democrat, Col. WILLIAM L. BROWN, struck down by the voters in a district always Democratic heretofore, not because he supported the WILSON bill, or was known to approve of its provisions, but because he was lukewarm and dilatory in disavowing any fondness for it. In another district the normal Democratic majority was cut down two-thirds, even for so popular a candidate as Mr. STRAUS. Mr. DUNPHY is without personal following or any claim to strong support; and who believes that he could withstand, even as a candidate of Tammany, the universal opposition which permeates every corner of his district, to a measure which all Democrats oppose, and for which, deliberately and almost defiantly, he voted?

The Republicans in Washington are now boasting that in the November contest of this year they will carry not less than four of the Congress districts of this town. They have possession of one now, and they are sanguine about capturing three more. If the burden of supporting, explaining, and justifying the WILSON bill is to be, or could be, imposed upon all the Democratic nominees, the Republican boast might easily come true. There is, fortunately, no fear of that, and Mr. DUNPHY'S letter helps to clear the way to Democratic success. It is open, however, to one objection: He should not have resigned from Tammany Hall, but from Congress.

Must Our Food Exportation Cease?

The United States have long occupied a unique place in the commercial world. Our imports of manufactures exceed those of any other nation, while our exports of such commodities are comparatively small, although in the aggregate value of all exports we are distanced only by Great Britain. There is little resemblance between the external commerce of the United States and that of any nation of western Europe; that of eastern Europe resembles ours only in the volume of grain sent abroad. Our exports of fibre and animal products exceed those of all the world besides. Indeed, we possess about half the swine of the world, furnish more than four-fifths of the pork products entering into commercial exchanges between nations, and, when our contribution diminishes, prices for such products advance, the world over. Excluding Asia and Africa, we own nearly 30 per cent. of the world's stock of cattle. While we do not control the price of beef so completely as we do that of pork, yet so dependent is western Europe upon the volume of external supplies that, upon the diminution of the American contribution, as in the last year, the price responds in some measure.

The price of wheat has long been dominated by our current exporting power. As we are the greatest contributor to the world's supply, the price usually rises or falls as our exportable surplus increases or diminishes. Present and recent low prices, as well as the greatly reduced purchasing power of the world's wheat growers, are due to such exceptional yields from American fields in 1891 and 1892 as enabled us to export some 370,000,000 bushels more than we could have spared had those crops been no greater than the average of the preceding eleven years.

Of cotton we have long had and still have a virtual monopoly. The American cotton grower was fairly prosperous until the great acreage yields of 1890 and 1891 forced so much fibre upon the market as to drive prices down from 20 to 30 per cent., rendering the crop unremunerative except upon the richest lands.

The very abundance that should have brought great prosperity to the wheat and cotton growers had the effect of destroying nearly all that remained of their purchasing power. It greatly reduced the unit value of the larger part of the commodities exported, and diminished the demand for manufactures, especially for books, carpets, furniture, the finer textiles, and the thousand and one things which can and will be dispensed with when individual revenues shrink greatly. This, in turn, has affected every business from that of the great railway or banking corporation, and that of the publisher of the metropolitan daily newspaper, to that of the street vender. The result is intensified commercial and industrial stagnation.

Exclusive of tea, coffee, sugar, spices, and other articles of food which it has been found impracticable to produce at home, and articles entering in some form into American industries, our purchases of foreign commodities ready for immediate use are of an aggregate value of about $240,000,000 per annum. This is much less than is generally believed.

While it is both possible and probable that we shall reduce these expenditures by an extension of home production, and by dispensing with some foreign luxuries as it becomes progressively more difficult for the great mass of the people to make both ends meet, yet we shall long have an account with foreign nations which must be liquidated either by the exportation of the products of the farm and factory, or by sending abroad an increasing proportion of the gold and silver mined.

Can we continue to send abroad sufficient of the products of the soil, supplemented by manufactures slowly increasing in aggregate value, to meet these bills?

Until recently a cultivated acreage furnishing products greatly in excess of domestic requirements has enabled the nation to meet most of the demands of the foreign creditor by the exportation of the products of the soil in primary and secondary form. The cultivated area having, about ten years since, ceased to expand as rapidly as the requirements of a progressively increasing population, it is hardly probable that we shall continue to export farm products, especially food, in the same relative proportion to population as during the last fifteen years, and thus pay for imports that have, during the last five years, been in the ratio of $12.50 to each unit of the population as against a concurrent exportation of commodities equalling in value $13.62 per capita. Thus, but for the expenditures of American tourists and the payment abroad of interest and dividends, the balance in our favor from the exports of the last five years would have been about $228,000,000, for which we should have received specie.

An expression of a belief that we are likely to diminish the volume of agricultural exports is esteemed an exhibition of pure pessimism, and little short of treason; while a suggestion that a cessation of food exportation is probable, is looked upon as a clear manifestation of mental aberration. Yet this should not deter us from considering carefully such possibilities and inquiring into the probability that the conditions will bring about such a cessation at no very distant day. Hence it is desirable, from every point of view, that we measure carefully the country's power to produce the great farm staples, and the requirements for home consumption, and their relation to the nation's position in the commercial world; and thus endeavor to determine what is really the present exporting power of the country, and what it is likely to be in the immediate future, especially as regards food and fibre.

Exports are usually, if not invariably, expressed and measured by volume or value; but neither value nor volume enables us to measure present exporting power, or to calculate that of the immediate or remote future. Values so vary and depend upon so many obscure relations as to afford no definite measure of either productive or exporting power; and even volume is, directly, but an unsatisfactory measure. Reducing volume, however, to terms of acres, and extending the inquiry to a period sufficiently long to determine correctly average acreage yields, and reducing domestic requirements for the great staples to like acreage terms, we have an unexceptionable measure of both productive and exporting power, and of domestic requirements as related to both. Such a measure, in connection with the ascertained acreage actually employed in growing all staples, enables us to determine the productive and exporting powers of the present, and closely to approximate those of that future which most directly interests those engaged in production and distribution.

During the eighteen years ending with June, 1893, the value of agricultural products exported in primary and secondary forms equalled 75 per cent. of all exports; and in no five years of the eighteen did the proportion fall below 73 per cent., while the exports of manufactures represented less than 18 per cent. of all exports.

Agricultural exports declined from 80 per cent. of the whole in the first half of the eighth decade to 74 per cent. in the period ending with 1889, to rise to 76 per cent. for the three years ending with June last. This increase, however, was adventitious and wholly attributable to extraordinary yields of both wheat and cotton from two crops, and in no way does it indicate an increase of either productive or exporting power. On the contrary, the exporting power has diminished since 1889 in nearly the full measure of the requirements of the 7,000,000 added to the population, the additions to the cultivated area not having equalled the increased requirements for hay alone. Indeed, there has been no addition to the exporting power since the earlier years of the ninth decade. Of the 52,000,000 acres added to the area under cultivation between 1879 and 1889, about 5,800,000 acres were devoted to the production of cotton. The corn fields expanded by an addition of 9,700,000 acres. The area under oats increased by 12,100,000 acres. Some 2,400,000 acres were added to the areas growing potatoes, tobacco, and minor cereals. The meadows increased by not less than 23,800,000 acres, while the wheat fields actually shrank more than 1,850,000 acres.

In other words, meadows absorbed nearly half the acreage added to the productive area, and such forage crops as hay and oats employed about 70 per cent. of all the new acres brought under cultivation, while the requirements for other staples of the 12,500,000 additional population in the ten years absorbed the products of 22,000,000 other acres. At the close of the ninth decade, therefore, the exporting power of the country, as measured by productive acres and home requirements, was actually less than in the earlier years of the period in the measure of average yields from about 6,000,000 acres, and this would have sooner been made plain but for exceptional crops of wheat and cotton since 1889.

Since 1890 the exporting power, as measured by productive areas and home requirements, has been declining with great rapidity; not only because there have been no additions to the grain and cotton fields, but by reason of the fact that much grain and cotton land has been diverted to the growth of other products required by the progressively greater additions yearly made to the population.

The areas heretofore employed in growing products for exportation are shown in the following table, animals and animal products having been reduced, first, to terms of bushels of corn and tons of hay, and then the bushels and tons reduced to terms of acres at ascertained and uniform rates of yield and consumption, while the wheat and flour and the cotton exported have been reduced to terms of acres in the same manner. The determinations of the acreage annually employed and the ratio thereof to the whole area under each farm product exported in primary and secondary form, are shown by averages of five-year and three-year periods, the exports of corn in secondary form being shown separately:

Statement, covering twenty-three years, of the acreage employed in producing the cotton, wheat, corn, hay, tobacco, and the minor cereals exported in primary form, and in such secondary forms as flour, and animals and animal products; the percentage of the whole area under each crop so employed; and the pounds of animal products exported; the showing being by averages of five years and three years; the years being harvest years ending June 30.

	1871-75. Area employed in growing products exported.	Per cent. of area under crop.	1876-80. Area employed in growing products exported.	Per cent. of area under crop.	1881-1885. Area employed in growing products exported.	Per cent. of area under crop.	1886-90. Area employed in growing products exported.	Per cent. of area under crop.	1891-93. Area employed in growing products exported.	Per cent. of area under crop.
Cotton	6,000,000	62.4	8,500,000	68.4	10,600,000	67.9	12,000,000	67.4	14,200,000	60.1
Wheat	5,100,000	24.2	9,900,000	22.9	11,600,000	30.2	9,400,000	26.0	11,800,000	31.2
Corn, primary	1,100,000	3.1	3,000,000	5.6	2,500,000	3.5	2,500,000	3.4	2,200,000	3.0
Corn, secondary	2,400,000	6.5	4,800,000	9.0	5,200,000	7.9	5,600,000	7.3	7,400,000	10.3
Hay	2,000,000	8.9	3,100,000	14.0	4,800,000	12.8	5,000,000	10.5	7,300,000	13.0
Tobacco, oats, &c.	200,000	1.5	300,000	1.5	400,000	1.4	500,000	1.5	600,000	1.0
Total area employed for exportation	17,400,000	16.5	29,400,000	21.0	34,700,000	19.0	35,000,000	16.8	43,200,000	19.7
Animal products exported, pounds	683,000,000		1,351,300,000		1,281,900,000		1,342,300,000		1,783,217,000	

Twenty years ago 16.5 per cent. of all the acreage devoted to staple crops was employed in growing products for exportation, the proportion rising to 21 per cent. for the five years ending with 1879. Relatively to the cultivated area, agricultural exports then reached high-water mark, declining to 19 per cent. in the next five years, to fall to 16.8 per cent. in the period ending with 1889.

During the last three years the proportion of fields employed in producing food and fibre for exportation appears to have increased more than it declined in the preceding five years. This increase is apparent rather than real, and arises from the fact that the production of wheat in 1891 and 1892, in excess of average yields, was equivalent to the product of some 31,000,000 acres, and the excess of cotton produced by the great acreage yields of 1890 and 1891 was equivalent to the average product of more than 8,000,000 acres. But for these extraordinary yields, there is little doubt that the exports of cotton would have shown but a moderate increase, while those of wheat would, for the last three years, have shrunken in the measure of the requirements of the added population, and the proportion of all crops exported would not have exceeded 15 per cent., and might have fallen as low as 12 per cent. of the product of the area devoted to staple crops.

Exports of wheat annually represented a larger acreage from 1880 to 1884 than in any subsequent period, although the bushels exported in the last three years exceeded the average of the earlier period.

Exports of corn as grain reached the maximum, both as regards volume and the percentage of the crop area, in the period ending fourteen years ago, and there is every probability that exports of this cereal in the primary form will rapidly diminish; for the requirements for purely domestic consumption have, since 1880, equalled the average product of one acre and one-tenth annually for each unit of the population. Therefore the present corn acreage—which is equivalent to but one acre and seven-hundredths per capita—is, *with average yields*, unequal to the production of the quantity required for home use at the rate at which corn has been consumed during the last thirteen years; and hence it will be absolutely necessary to increase greatly the yield an acre; to lower the standard of living, or to add annually 1,600,000 acres to the corn fields to meet domestic requirements alone. To supply home demands for corn in primary and secondary forms, and to send abroad meats and other secondary products of corn in as great proportion as since 1880, it will be necessary to add 1,800,000 acres yearly to the area employed in growing maize. Instead of adding to the area, it has shrunken greatly since 1889, although in the mean time more than 2,000,000 acres of the cotton fields have been converted into corn-bearing lands; and yet the deficit caused by diverting Northern corn fields to meadows, pastures, and oat fields to meet the ever-increasing requirements of the towns for forage, meats, and dairy products has not been made good. It is obvious that less can be sent abroad if domestic consumption shall continue to equal the product of one acre and a tenth for each individual.

Owing to exceptional yields from great areas in 1890 and 1891, the production of cotton has recently been unprofitable, and some 2,000,000 acres of cotton lands have been employed in the production of the corn consumed at the South. Yet should successive seasons give yields no greater than the average of the ten crops preceding 1890, it will soon be necessary to restore to cotton production all the acres diverted to other products. The world's requirements for American cotton now exceed an average yield from more acres than were ever devoted to the crop.

Europe's population has increased less than 6 per cent. in the last five years, yet the European consumption of cotton has augmented by more than 16 per cent., and America furnishes a greater proportion than before. Probably the rate at which European consumption increases will not be so great when the price shall have advanced materially, but the world's demand for American cotton is likely to increase quite as fast as it is possible for the cotton fields to expand. This is especially true in view of the necessity which will impel the employment of all added acres in providing the food, forage, and fibre required by additions to the domestic population.

The exports of hay in primary form have always been meagre, averaging less than the product of 15,000 acres per annum during the last twenty years. But the export of this staple in the secondary form of animals and animal products is of great magnitude. For the last ten years it has employed an area half as great as that devoted to the grain exported in primary form and as flour. Within four years the exports of hay in secondary form have increased 50 per cent. as a result of the growth of the trade in live cattle, although this traffic has shrunken a third since January, 1893.

The dependence of the traffic in animal products, and especially all forms of pork, upon an abundant supply of corn, is shown by the fact that following the short corn crop of 1881 the exportation of animal products declined 40 per cent., and the aggregate sent abroad in each of the two years preceding this crop failure was not again reached until after the harvesting of the crops of 1888 and 1889. The exportation of such products has fallen off 25 per cent. in the calendar year just closed, as a result of the scanty corn crop of 1892.

Exports of swine products, other than lard, reached the maximum before the short corn crop of 1881, and the quantity exported is likely never again to be so great as in the two years preceding the harvesting of that crop. The exports of lard have been fairly well maintained, thanks to the cottonseed oil with which it has been flavored of late years. Exports of dairy products in 1893 were but 40 per cent. of those of twelve and fourteen years ago; and the persistent decline is due wholly to the increase of domestic requirements, although in the interim we have supplemented the product by consuming immense and ever-increasing quantities of oleomargarine.

The tobacco, oats, and minor cereals exported employ but a small fraction of the nation's productive area, and, apart from tobacco, are likely to cease at an early day, unless it be in the case of the barley exported from the Pacific coast. The exportation of corn and hay in secondary forms will probably continue after we cease to export grain in other forms. But that the time is rapidly approaching when the exportation of great volumes of food in any form will be impracticable is clearly indicated by the data used in reducing the exports of the last twenty-three years to terms of acres.

These data show that solely for domestic consumption, exclusive of the hay and grain used to provide animal products for exportation, each unit of the population requires the product of 1.1 acres of corn, 0.773 of an acre of hay, 0.445 of an acre of wheat, 0.412 of an acre of oats, 0.103 of an acre of cotton, and the produce of 0.154 of an acre employed in growing potatoes, tobacco, rye, barley, and buckwheat; the individual requirements equalling the crops from 2.973 acres.

Granting that these data are reliable, it appears that each unit of the population has, for thirteen years, consumed annually the product of 2.973 acres, and this warrants the assumption that the per capita requirements will be equally great until the standard of living shall be lowered.

Estimating at this rate, for a population of 68,000,000, home requirements will, in 1894, *with average yields*, absorb the product of 202,000,000 acres, of which 75,000,000 must be in corn, 53,000,000 in hay, 30,000,000 in wheat, 28,000,000 under oats, 7,000,000 acres in cotton, and 9,000,000 acres devoted to potatoes, tobacco, and the minor cereals.

As the area under all staples in 1893 was barely 220,500,000 acres, it follows that with only average yields and domestic requirements, there will remain from the harvests of 1894, even if a million new acres be added, only the produce from 19,500,000 acres that can be sent abroad. As the exports of cotton and tobacco equal the average yields of more than 13,500,000 acres, it appears that, aside from cotton and tobacco, our exporting power is reduced to the product of 6,000,000 average acres, or less than the requirements of eighteen months' addition to the population.

Thus it appears that after providing for home needs and supplying Europe with cotton and tobacco, either the hay or the corn sent abroad in secondary form represents more acres than can be employed in growing food for exportation.

Granting the correctness of the official data used, the available area in excess of present domestic needs is less than will provide the 13,000,000 acres needed by additions that will be made to the population before the crops of 1897 can be garnered, even in the very improbable event that 2,000,000 acres be yearly added to the area under cultivation.

Shall we cease to export grain, or shall we cease to export corn and hay in the more profitable secondary forms?

Under existing conditions, as relates to cultivated acres and home requirements, can we long export food in any form?

For a Fairer Law of Libel.

On Wednesday next the Assembly Committee on Codes will give a hearing at Albany on the proposed amendment of the existing libel law of this State.

Under the energetic lead of Mr. BENNETT'S *Herald*, the movement to correct the oppressive and absurd features of the present libel law, which assumes malicious intent even in cases of innocent error, and puts reputable newspaper publishers at the mercy of the speculator and the blackmailer, has made great progress. The press of the entire State are practically unanimous in demanding a change; and in many other States the newspapers are beginning to agitate the subject.

We have no doubt that the New York Legislature will heed the request of the newspapers; for their request is founded in justice and rests on sound public policy.

An interesting example to the Presidents of all republics will be set by the President of Brazil if he shall justify the reports that he is about to resign his office on account of the unpopularity of his policy, and for the sake of peace and in the interest of his country. Yet Brazil is not distracted over the Hawaiian question, or the WILSON bill, or the state of the Treasury, or the prostration of industry, or income taxation, or the perversion of the Democratic party. If President PEIXOTO feels that he ought to leave his office after last week's elections, let him think what he would have done if they had given results like that of the election recently held in Pennsylvania.

At the vegetarian banquet the other evening, there was a carnivorous philosopher, who, besides going through the bill of fare, from pickled walnuts to orange salad, made it his business to observe the peculiarities of the men and women who accept vegetarianism. He was struck with the exceeding amiability of the people who exemplify one of the doctrines of the ancient gymnosophists. All the men were benignant and genial, but most of them seemed to be deficient in power; they were animated but not mettlesome, complacent but not thrilling, kindly disposed yet not at all paroxysmal. It was evident that they always keep their temper under control, and have the habit of speaking in pleasant tones at home, never giving way to passionate outbursts. To all appearances there was not an aggressive man among them, not a man like the Hon. TOM REED, or ex-Boss MCKANE, or Governor WAITE of Colorado, not a man fit to rule that part of Africa which has been conquered by CECIL RHODES, not one like LABOUCHERE of London, or BISMARCK the German, or HAGENBECK the lion tamer, or SANDOW the modern SAMSON, or even like the Rev. Dr. TALMAGE of Brooklyn. Not any one of these potent or recently potential persons, so far as we know, subsists exclusively upon a vegetable diet. The men at the vegetarian banquet seemed to the carnivorous observer, whose observations are here given, like mild spirits, rather frisky. There was not a fat man, or a swashbuckler among them. Those of them who made speeches spoke softly, not like ROBERT G. INGERSOLL, who is a flesh eater. As for the vegetarian ladies at the banquet, it is said that they convinced every carnivorous onlooker there that vegetarianism is a good thing for at least one of the sexes, the gentle sex.

Both men and women were apparently in health.

One Day Too Young.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* I was born in this city on March 7, 1873. I have registered, and believe that I am entitled to vote at the election next Tuesday, March 6, 1894. The poll clerk holds a contrary opinion. Now, will you please decide the question? C. E. W.
TROY, March 4.

The Constitution of New York provides that "every male citizen of the age of 21 years who shall have been a citizen for ten days and an inhabitant of this State one year next preceding an election, and the last four months a resident of the county, and for the last thirty days a resident of the election district in which he may offer his vote, shall be entitled to vote," &c. The poll clerk is right. You will not be 21 years old until Wednesday, and the fact that you are registered does not make you a qualified elector on Tuesday.

The Old Kearsarge.

Shall we leave her on the shore,
On the lonely Roncador
The old Kearsarge that we knew and loved so well?
Shall she perish on the reef
While a nation's ebbing grief
Around her vainly welters, and the billows sound her knell?

No, a thousand times, and no!
Tell the sea and storm-wind so:
Not even they can make our warrior ship a slave.
Shall they tear her ribs apart?
Shall they thunder through her heart,
Filled with honor of her triumph and the memory of her brave?

Well she won us victory;
We must win her from the sea!
Stanch, then, her wounds with a firm and steady hand;
Bring her home, with cheer on cheer,
Till the nation's latest year
Keep her safely, as a glory and a token to the land.

Yet if billowy Roncador
As with funeral guns should roar
For the old Kearsarge lying vanquished in the fight,
Sunset red and starry gleam
From the midnight blue shall stream
Like our flag above her, mingled with the white of morning's light!

GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

PENNSYLVANIA DEMOCRACY.

No Harmony on the Basis of Clevelandism—An Impressive Protest.

PHILADELPHIA, March 4.—The scheme of President Cleveland to harmonize and unite the contending factions of the Democratic party in Pennsylvania, proved a complete failure, as everybody believed it would. No blame ought to attach to Farmer Singerly, who accepted the office of Harmonizer-General with misgivings as to his ability to secure the end desired, but who, doubtless, produced better results than any one else could have done under circumstances so unusual.

It is said that National Chairman Harrity had represented to the President that if the opposing factions of the Democratic party could be brought together in harmony the abnormal majority of 134,000 cast last November in Pennsylvania would be reduced about one-half at the February election for Congressman-at-large. The President regarded such a result as an irresistible influence in favor of the Wilson bill, and the strongest endorsement that could possibly be made in support of the Cleveland policy as to Hawaii, the Supreme Court jugglery, and other matters of national importance. Hence the President's great anxiety for harmony, Hawaii, and a cut of fifty per cent. in the normal Republican majority in Pennsylvania.

This question of harmony was carefully considered by anti-Cleveland Democrats of national reputation. The Hon. William A. Wallace and the Hon. Charles A. Buckalew, the only two Democratic statesmen of Pennsylvania now living who have represented the State in the United States Senate; ex-States Senator the Hon. James Gay Gordon and the Hon. M. Arnold, now Judges, by a unanimous election, of the Common Pleas Court of Philadelphia; State Senator A. D. Markley, the Hon. William S. Stenger, ex-Secretary of State under Gov. Pattison; the Hon. George McGowan, ex-member of the Legislature, and scores of others of commanding influence gave friendly notice that if the State Convention endorsed the Cleveland policy for free iron ore, free coal, free lumber, and free wool, and an income tax, there could be only one sensible course for Mr. Cleveland's managers in Pennsylvania to pursue. That was to adopt a resolution making the election of the Republican candidate unanimous, and to close the headquarters of the Democratic State Committee.

These distinguished Democratic statesmen also took the trouble to inform the young State leader of Mugwumpian proclivities that if Mr. Harrity compelled the State Convention to take the course insisted upon by President Cleveland in unreservedly endorsing his policy, it would alienate thousands of young Democrats of marked intelligence, of high standing in the community, and great influence, from the Democratic party. Many of them would never return to its ranks.

The sensible advice of the Old Guard was disregarded. Instead of harmony and 70,000 Republican majority, as Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Harrity had planned and hoped, it is chaos and 187,000. This is a Republican gain of 53,000 majority in the short space of only three months, and that gain represents, as every Democratic election officer in the State will attest, exactly the number of Democrats who deliberately determined to express in the most impressive manner their protest against the Cleveland-Harrity policy as it is applied to the Democracy of Pennsylvania.

HOKE SMITH IS HUSTLING.

Trying Hard to Make Georgia's Democratic Convention a Cleveland Gathering.

ATLANTA, Ga., March 2.—There is considerable speculation over Secretary Hoke Smith's visit to Georgia. A banquet was given last night, at which were present the men who used to rally to his side when he was in ward politics. When the guests were ready to leave he said:

"I want you to be sure to call on me in Washington. If there is anything you want, be sure to write to me, and I will give you immediate attention."

This statement has its significance. There is a State campaign pending in which all the candidates are anti-Cleveland.

It behooves Secretary Smith to make a better report to his chief. His activity for the last ten days in visiting and corresponding in certain places in Georgia has for its object the settlement of the character of delegations to the State Convention, which will be called to-morrow.

With the right men present he can swing the Convention, and either compel the present candidates for Governor and Senator to change their utterances, or he will try to bring out new men. His plan is to capture the delegates first. To-night Secretary Smith is in Macon.

The Gihon-Reynolds Wedding.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* Permit me to ask your correction of a probable typographic error in a paragraph in your issue of yesterday, stating that Miss Marie Reynolds of New York city, daughter of the late John Reynolds of that city, and Mr. Albert Dakin Gihon of New York, son of Medical Director Gihon of the United States navy, were married "secretly" in Geneva, Feb. 10, instead of "quietly," as was the case. The civil ceremony required by the laws of Switzerland, after the preliminary publication of the banns for two weeks, took place at 11:30 on the 10th of February, and the religious ceremony at noon at the American Church in Geneva. The bride was given away by her mother, and after the ceremony the bridal party and a few friends were entertained at breakfast at the consulate.

Very truly yours, ALBERT L. GIHON,
Medical Director, U. S. Navy.
WASHINGTON, March 2, 1894.

Mr. Cramp and Mr. Hemje.

PHILADELPHIA, March 2.

SIR: I have received and read with mingled amazement and amusement your letter to me of the 28th ultimo, and the enclosed copy of your letter to the editor of THE SUN.

Your inference that I meant to charge you with the authorship of THE SUN articles is absurd. I not only did not make such charge, but I know that you were not their author.

It must have required an extraordinary effort of vanity to twist such an inference out of my language.

I referred to the Naval Institute affair in an incidental way simply to show that the warfare on the Philadelphia was not new, and I thought I made that fact tolerably clear.

Understanding your letter to be in the nature of a demand for absolution from an assumed charge of being the author of THE SUN articles, I therefore take pleasure in assuring you:

1. That I never made such charge either expressly or by the remotest implication.

2. That I knew you were not their author.

3. That if I had not known that fact I would have given them no attention. Very truly yours,

CHARLES H. CRAMP.

CHARLES HEMJE, Esq., Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.

A Hymn from the Mud.

I love the swamps, the soggy swamps,
Where the bittern booms and the wildcat romps,
And the catawampus catawamps.

I love the ooze and the deep, rich mud,
Where the frog devours the aqua bud,
And the mudfish sails on the slimy flood;

Where the rattlesnakes their wrath confess
In a way that copies the reptile press,
And rattle with fangful previousness.

Afar in the swamp I love to bide,
To hibernate and retire and hide
With only Gresham and Bob by my side.

Where the wicked Snapper may not snap,
Nor the wings of the Mugwump bird may flap,
Nor the anti-Snappers rile a chap.

In the dark and greasy pools I see
The mirrored face of that Sandwich She,
Who is dear to the Man of Destiny.

We tramp through the mud for miles and miles,
A duckless quest, while the hot sun bites,
But still from the pools the Queen's face smiles.

That dark, dear face that brings us luck,
Though never we meet with doe or buck,
And vain is the hunt for the vanished duck.

Ah, would that I had the Senate here,
By the neck to take it and plunge it sheer
In the bottomless mud of the slimy mere!

By sea or shore, from stand or boat,
By sandy sound or murky moat,
I hear the Cuckoo's plaintive note.

Dark is the swamp and dark my soul,
But in my heart, joy's purple stole
Unfolds, as those dear carols roll.

The cedar soughs, the cypress weeps,
Screech owlets scream from fenny deeps,
My mind its long, lone vigil keeps.

Why art thou sad, why not elate,
O, chosen one and consecrate,
Grover, thou wondrous Son of Fate!

Here no vain men thy will oppose,
Here's no conspiring of thy foes,
Here everything thou sayest goes.

No battling here to heat the blood,
No chewing disappointment's cud;
O, quiet, O, congenial mud!

TORTOISESHELL CREEK, March 3. G. G.

A CITY BUILT ON MUD.

Chicago's Tottering Buildings and What They Signify.

CHICAGO, March 4.—The undeniable insecurity and decrepitude of many of the large buildings of this city is a subject which is beginning to agitate and alarm builders and business men. The Post Office and Custom House has been settling upon its soft clay foundation for years, and is now generally spoken of as "the ruin." This is not alone because the city wants a new building, but because the structure is absolutely unsafe. Its floors are uneven, its walls are crumbling, and the drainage pipes are so broken and disconnected as to fill the building frequently with noxious gases.

If this were the only case of the kind in the city it might be laid to the door of the Government Architect. But here is the Board of Trade building, whose 325-foot granite tower is the pharos of the lake mariners, leaning badly to one side and threatening to fall over and destroy the entire building. The walls on both sides of the tower are cracked by its settling and the string courses are badly out of level. It has been decided to take down the tower as soon as possible and finish it at a level with the roof of the main building.

Only a few days ago the ceiling fell in of Judge Stein's court room in the County building, the east wing of the great granite City Hall. The court escaped annihilation under the 25,000 pounds of débris only because it was not in session. All the adjacent walls and ceilings are disfigured with meandering cracks, and it has been decided to take down all of the ceilings in that part of the building and to replace them with lighter material. A month ago, owing to some sudden movement of the walls, the stone jamb of one of the windows was dislocated, and a fragment weighing 100 pounds sealed off, fortunately lodging on the broad watershed below it instead of falling to the pavement, as did a fragment recently from the Board of Trade tower. The County building has a solid concrete foundation upon piles, the piles being driven as close together as they could stand, and the building was supposed to be good for ages to come.

When such accidents are happening to these comparatively solid and substantial structures, architects as well as tenants are asking what is to be the fate of the tall sky scrapers which form Chicago's pride. The settlement of the Auditorium tower and of the great Masonic building have exceeded the architects' calculations; and some fear that the fate of the former will be similar to that of the Board of Trade, the weight being more than twenty times as great.

The foundation of the Chicago structures is peculiar. The foundations practically float in mud. Beneath the ten or twelve feet of sand is hard pan clay, eight or ten feet in depth, and under this is clay saturated with water, not a quicksand, but a soft mass into which an iron rod will sink to an unknown depth. Builders adopt two methods, pile foundation, with concrete, and iron bars crossed in cob house fashion and filled with concrete, making a sort of raft upon the clay upon which the structure is supported. It is asserted by some that additional load merely increases the depth of the hard pan by driving out the water; but other engineers maintain that this is an error, and that when once the hardpan is penetrated or broken the settlement is continuous. It is a fact well known to the builders of sky-scrapers that there is a constant and uneven motion going on throughout the whole structure, called by some molecular vibration, to an extent which can be measured with the naked eye. Girders will move an inch or more, and then come back into place. The causes of this movement are as yet entirely unknown, as are their extent and duration. Another peril which menaces this class of building is oxidation. The steel frames are enclosed in fireproofing and beyond the reach of examination or the application of preservatives. The disintegration may be slow, but the day must come, so say good authorities, when the great buildings must succumb to rust and ruin, unless they are sooner toppled over by unequal settlement into the mud.

NO TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

The Cherokees Prefer to Be Left as They Are.

From the Washington Post.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE POST—*Sir:* In your issue of this morning, speaking of the Dawes Commission, you say:

"The failure of the Commission to negotiate satisfactory terms will mean an ultimate submission of the whole question to Congress, and the outcome of legislation in that body cannot be foretold."

I am a Cherokee of the Cherokee Nation, and have had an opportunity extending through a period of half a century to witness the state of things in that country. The Cherokees, excepting in rare instances, are opposed to allotment of their lands and the erection of territorial government in their country. Under the present form of their political existence they have flourished, I think, beyond all precedents. They have a Constitution, laws, courts, schools, churches, asylums, and, in completion of appliances of a "Christian civilization," they have also the jail and gallows.

The government of the Cherokees is not a tribal government. It is a fallacy to so consider it. They rose above that form of government long ago. The political status of the Cherokee Nation has been already defined and acknowledged both by the Supreme Court and in the language used in the public transactions between them and the United States. The Supreme Court says the Cherokee Nation is a State, only not in sense as a State of the United States or a foreign State; yet it is a State.

The existence of the Cherokee Nation as a body politic, appears to be just as legal, under the Constitution of the United States, as that of any State or Territory in the Union. They all exist alike under authority of the Constitution. By an act of Congress, called a statute, a State is created; by an act of Congress, called a treaty, the Cherokee Government was created. The name of an act of Congress can have no effect whatever upon the sanctity and binding force of such act.

A question then presents itself: Can Congress, under authority of the Constitution, with greater ease abolish the Government of the Cherokee nation than that of a State of the Union? Or can it abolish either without sufficient cause? And no such cause exists for the abolishment of the Cherokee Nation.

But the greatest objection to allotment of lands and citizenship for the Indians lies in the fact that no system of laws can be constructed that could protect them from the effects of the unequal contest which such change! would impose upon them. The Choctaws tried citizenship in Mississippi, the Creeks in Alabama, the Cherokees in Georgia; others tried it in Michigan, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Kansas, and the Hon. Enoch Hoag, who once was in charge of what was called the Southern superintendency, reported to the Government that in "every attempt to make citizens out of Indians it had proved a failure."

It is not true that a greater amount of crime is committed in the Indian Territory than elsewhere. Remove from the criminal docket the whiskey cases, and my honest opinion is there would be less crime chargeable to that country than to the adjoining States. Nor is it true that a few persons have monopolized all the land in the country, leaving the masses homeless and in pauperism. True enough some large farms may be seen and some large enclosures for pasturage purposes, but still, in the Cherokee Nation, Choctaw Nation, and Creek Nation there is plenty of unoccupied land for all. There are no paupers in those nations. They may, in some cases, have but little personal property, yet every one is a land proprietor.

W. A. DUNCAN.

Mr. Coudert Rebuked by a College Student.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* As a Catholic and a student of ethics permit me to offer a criticism of Mr. Frederic R. Coudert's view of a question in ethics, touched upon by him in a lecture on "Manners and Morals" delivered recently before the Catholic Club of New York. The *Catholic News* of Feb. 25 ult. contains a report of the "Manners and Morals" lecture, from which the following is quoted, as showing the character of the ethical principles held by Mr. Coudert:

"There are lots of interesting questions in connection with morals. For instance, is a lie ever justifiable? Many say it is not, others say it is. Years ago I was told the story of an event in the French revolution.

"A father and son were arrested for being bad citizens. Perhaps it was because they did not think Robespierre quite a saint. The son was tried first and convicted. The penalty was death. A kind-hearted jailer locked father and son in the same cell.

"At break of day a soldier called out the name of the son to go to execution. The son was asleep, and the father took his place, saying the name of the condemned man was his. He was executed. The son was not again sentenced, and he lived afterward to tell the story with tears.

"I submit for your meditation whether that was such a bad lie after all. My own impression is that if death is to be the punishment for telling such a lie, the race of liars will not be very numerous."

As Mr. Coudert was lecturing under the auspices of a Catholic club, and before what must have been largely a Catholic audience, in justice to his own catholicity it was incumbent upon him to explain to his auditors that no diversity of belief concerning this question exists within the Catholic Church.

The proposition that a lie is sometimes justifiable is emphatically and unanimously condemned by the philosophers and moralists of the Church. The "justifiable lie" has no place in rational philosophy. However heroic the course of the condemned father in substituting himself for execution in place of his son, by means of a lie, may appear to Mr. Coudert, and to others whose principles of morality are based upon mere utilitarianism, such an act, judged according to the true norm of morality, must be considered as an act immoral.

A lie violates the order of the essential relations of things, which order proceeds from God Himself and is designed for the perfection of the moral and intellectual nature of man. Therefore, even to secure a great good, or to avoid a great evil, it is never justifiable to lie because of the supreme obligations of the creature to worship God always in spirit and in truth.

A MEMBER OF THE MORAL PHILOSOPHY CLASS.
ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE, March 3.